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S/22227
15 February 1991

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LETTER DATED 14 FEBRUARY 1991 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

On behalf of my Government, I request that you distribute as a document of the Security Council the enclosed texts, which include the statement of 13 February by the White House Press Secretary, on the 12 February bombing of a military command and control centre at Baghdad, as well as excerpts of remarks concerning the same subject by other officials of the United States, including Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney, Lt. General Thomas Kelly, Assistant Secretary of State Margaret Tutwiler and Brigadier General Richard Neal.

(Signed) Thomas R. PICKERING

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Annex I

Statement by the White House Press Secretary on 13 February 1991

Mr. Fitzwater: Last night, coalition forces bombed a military command and control centre at Baghdad that, according to press reports, resulted in a number of civilian casualties.

The loss of civilian lives in time of war is a truly tragic consequence. It saddens everyone to know that innocent people may have died in the course of military conflict. America treats human life as our most precious value. That is why even during this military conflict in which the lives of our servicemen and women are at risk, we will not target civilian facilities. We will continue to hit only military targets. The bunker that was attacked last night was a military target, a command and control centre that fed instructions directly to the Iraqi war machine, painted and camouflaged to avoid detection, and well-documented as a military target. We have been systematically attacking these targets since the war began.

We don't know why civilians were at this location, but we do know that Saddam Hussein does not share our value in the sanctity of life. Indeed, he, time and again, has shown a willingness to sacrifice civilian lives and property that further his war aims.

Civilian hostages were moved in November and December to military sites for use as human shields. Prisoners of war reportedly have been placed at military sites. Roving bands of execution squads search out deserters among his own ranks of servicemen. Command and control centres in Iraq have been placed on top of schools and public buildings. Tanks and other artillery have been placed beside private homes and small villages. And only this morning we have documentation that two MiG 21s have been parked near the front door of a treasured archeologic site which dates back to the twenty-seventh century B.C.

His environmental terrorism spreads throughout the Persian Gulf, killing wildlife and threatening human water supplies. And, finally, Saddam Hussein aims his Scud missiles at innocent civilians in Israel and Saudi Arabia. He kills civilians intentionally and with purpose.

Saddam Hussein created this war. He created the military bunkers. And he can bring the war to an end. We urge him once again to save his people and to comply with the United Nations resolutions.

Annex II

Excerpts from speech by the Secretary of Defense, Richard Cheney, in the United States Chamber of Commerce, 13 February 1991

We've gone back and checked very carefully on the facility that was struck yesterday. It was indeed a military facility, a hardened bunker, camouflage painted on top, plugged into his military communications system. There is no question in my mind or in the minds of key people that we hit a military target.

Some have suggested this morning that Saddam might now be resorting to a practice of deliberately putting civilians in harm's way, deliberately putting civilians on what he knows are military targets.

I have no way of knowing whether or not that was the case in this instance, but we do know that he had previously placed hundreds of foreign civilians held hostage all last fall at strategic sites throughout Iraq. We do know that he's threatened to place prisoners of war at strategic targets throughout Iraq. We do know that he is placing military equipment in civilian areas, especially in Kuwait, but also in Iraq.

And just this morning we received a new piece of intelligence that's interesting because of what it reveals about his practice with respect to his effort to try to blur the lines between military capabilities and civilian areas. There is, in Iraq, a city called Ur. Ur contains ruins that span history. Of particular interest are the remains of the famed Saqqara pyramid. Recent satellite imagery obtained just this morning indicates that there are now two MiG 21s, combat aircraft to the Iraqi air force, parked right next to the pyramid, obviously an effort to use the archeologically significant facility to protect his military capabilities. Clearly he's demonstrated repeatedly a willingness to use his population and cultural artifacts in an effort to shield and protect his military equipment.

Annex III

Excerpts from a briefing by Lieutenant General Thomas Kelly and Captain David Herrington, the Pentagon, 13 February 1991

At the very beginning of the campaign we announced, since the first day, that we were targeting strategic command and control positions. Those targets in downtown Baghdad struck over a period of time were part of that targeting package. The net effect of that targeting was to force the Iraqi military away from these centralized command and control facilities to alternate command and control facilities. What you are seeing on television today is one of the alternate command and control facilities that we knew was active.

Why do we know this was a command and control facility? We know a great deal about this facility. For example we know that it was constructed in the early 1980s during the Iran/Iraq war and it was converted to a military command and control facility in the late 1980s. As a part of that conversion it was taken over by the military. The command and control equipment already there was hardened for protection from a conventional bombing attack, and with electromagnetic pulse protection to allow for continued communication despite a possible nuclear explosion in the area.

The building was not for free access. It had a camouflage roof and a security fence with barbed wire around it. Finally, there apparently was no air raid siren. You would not expect civilians to be fleeing into this facility.

Annex IV

Excerpts from a briefing by Assistant Secretary Margaret Tutwiler, United States Department of State, 13 February 1991

It is not the policy of the United States Government intentionally to target civilians. It is the policy of Saddam Hussein. For our part, we have gone to extreme length, often at the risk to our own pilots, not to target civilians or areas where they live. Indeed, any civilian casualties are a result of a war that Saddam Hussein imposed. Had he complied with the will of the international community, ended his aggression and withdrawn from Kuwait there would be no war. Unfortunately and tragically, the Iraqi people are paying the price for his aggression. The United States did not invade, annex or destroy Kuwait; Saddam Hussein did. It is Saddam, not the allied coalition, who continues to put his narrow ambitions above the well-being of his people and the welfare of his country. It is Saddam Hussein, not the allied coalition, who continues purposely to attack civilian targets in Israel and Saudi Arabia. It is Saddam Hussein, not the allied coalition, who abuses prisoners of war and destroys the ecology of the Gulf. It is Saddam Hussein, not the allied coalition, who continues to defy the will of the entire international community. And it is Saddam Hussein who has the ability to stop the violence by immediately withdrawing from Kuwait. But once again, his personal, ruthless ambitions makes him indifferent to the cost to his own people.

Annex V

Excerpts from a briefing by Brigadier General Richard Neal, United States Central Command, 13 February 1991

I am here to tell you that it was a military bunker. It was a command and control facility. It is one of many that have been used by the Iraqi Government throughout this operation. We have been systematically attacking these bunkers since the beginning of the campaign.

Within the last two weeks, this particular bunker became even more active as a command and control facility. It is a hardened shelter. The roof was just recently painted with a camouflage patina to keep it out of aviation vision.

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LETTER DATED 15 FEBRUARY 1991 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF JORDAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

With reference to the request submitted by a number of delegations in the latter part of last month, which my delegation supported, for the holding of a formal meeting of the Security Council to consider the situation in the Gulf, and in view of the Council's decision on 13 February 1991 to hold a closed meeting, I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the statement that I would have delivered in the Council if the meeting had been public.

I should be grateful if you would kindly have this letter and the text of the attached statement circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdullah SALAH
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

Annex

Statement of H.E. Mr. Abdullah Salah, Permanent Representative of Jordan to the United Nations, before the Security Council, concerning the situation in the Gulf

Mr. President,

As this is the first time that I am taking the floor this year, I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate your country on its membership of the Council. I also wish to offer you my personal congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the present month. I am confident that your experience and wisdom will help the Council to discharge its tasks in the most efficient manner under these difficult circumstances.

I also wish to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, the Permanent Representative of Zaire, for his capable direction of the Council's work last month.

Mr. President,

The Security Council is meeting today at a time when the momentous and devastating war that is being waged in the Middle East has entered its fourth week; a war which my country diligently endeavoured to avert, while warning of its disastrous consequences and repercussions not only for our region but for the entire world. Unfortunately, our endeavours were unsuccessful, since they were obstructed by a number of parties, and other peaceful initiatives that were made also failed for the same reason. While today expressing our anxiety concerning the outbreak of this war in the Gulf, which is a vital and sensitive region of the world, we also wish to express our regret that the Security Council failed to hold an early meeting immediately after the outbreak of this war in order to consider the action that is being undertaken, in its name, by a number of States, with a view to ascertaining whether those military operations have transcended the framework of its resolutions and whether there is still scope for an attempt to solve the problem peacefully. It was only natural that we should expect this from the Security Council in its capacity as the body that was established as an effective instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security. We believe that the most appropriate way to achieve that objective is to prevent the occurrence of wars and make every endeavour to avert them, instead of granting an open licence to wage them.

Mr. President,

My country's position in regard to the Gulf crisis is clear and based on principle. We oppose the seizure of territory by force and we do not recognize the political and demographic changes resulting therefrom. We also believe in the peaceful settlement of conflicts and we regard peaceful, calm and constructive dialogue based on equality and mutual respect as the only appropriate method to settle disputes between States.

We were deeply grieved when the crisis erupted between two Arab countries on 2 August 1990 and His Majesty King Hussein made sincere and diligent endeavours to rapidly contain and overcome that crisis on the basis of international law, within the Arab context, which is the natural context for such endeavours. Although those endeavours almost achieved their aim, certain parties in and outside the region sought to expand the scope of that crisis by internationalizing it. The forceful intervention of external parties in that crisis, as well as the stubborn opposition to dialogue, the massive deployment of foreign forces in the Gulf region, the launching of organized and hostile information campaigns and the hasty adoption of resolutions, led to a dangerous escalation of that crisis by neutralizing the parties that could have acted as mediators and numerous opportunities for peace were therefore lost.

Mr. President,

Our position on the Gulf crisis is in keeping with the views of the international community and our aim is to ensure the triumph of international law. However, we differ from some in regard to the means for the achievement of that aim. We have chosen to emphasize the preferability of a peaceful solution and we have stressed the need to make every possible effort to that end, with an open mind and in such a way as to take into account the background and interrelated aspects of the problem. In that regard, we feared the outbreak of a devastating war, the adverse consequences of which would outweigh its positive results, assuming that war can have any positive results. War is the worst option to which a party to a dispute can resort and it should not be regarded as a means to achieve a solution until all other means have been exhausted.

At the present time, now that the war has become a fait accompli, and considering the tremendous human suffering and large-scale devastation that it has caused, we feel impelled to make a strong appeal for the cessation of all the military operations in the Gulf region and for the parties concerned to return to the negotiating table, in order to avoid further human and material losses.

The United Nations was established to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to make every effort to maintain peace. Consequently, in accordance with the responsibilities vested in it under the Charter, the Security Council has an obligation to continue its endeavours to reach a peaceful solution to this conflict and also to solve the other outstanding problems in this vital region of the world, particularly the question of Palestine, the essence of the Arab-Israeli conflict, which is still awaiting a solution in accordance with international law. We fear that Israel might exploit the international preoccupation with the ongoing war in the Gulf in order to implement its well-known expansionist schemes and expel the Palestinian population from the occupied territories.

Mr. President,

Any objective observer following the military operations that are being undertaken by the allied forces, under the leadership of the United States, against Iraq would inevitably reach the conclusion that the purpose of this large-scale and

massive onslaught is not solely to liberate Kuwait, but also to destroy Iraq as a military and economic Power. The devastation has extended to places of worship, schools, hospitals, residential areas, roads, bridges, electric power stations, water-supply networks and even a factory for the manufacture of infant formula. Large numbers of civilians, including women, children and elderly persons, have been killed or wounded in Iraq as a result of this widespread destruction. By now, the world should realize the dangerous and tragic nature of the situation following the bombardment by allied aircraft of a civilian shelter in which about 500 persons died. All this prompts us and others to wonder whether these military operations have not, in fact, transcended the aims of the Security Council resolutions.

It is also a source of concern and apprehension that some of the principal foreign parties participating in this campaign have begun to speak of restructuring the situation in the region, through the creation of military alliances and the establishment of a regional order, in a way that would serve their own ends but which would not be conducive to the interests and aspirations of the peoples of the region.

Mr. President,

The recent international developments, culminating in the announcement of the termination of the cold war, gave mankind cause to hope for a better world in which mutual understanding and respect would prevail and in which the United Nations would play its role in the establishment and maintenance of peace. However, the outbreak of the Gulf crisis diminished that hope. We could have solved this problem in a peaceful and equitable manner, thereby setting an example to be followed under the so-called "new international order". However, in view of the deteriorating situation, we cannot but wonder about the nature of that new order in the name of which this war is being waged, with the destruction of Iraq as its primary "achievement", and also about the role of the United Nations in that order, given the fact that the Organization has been used to give this war the stamp of approval and to vest it with the cloak of international legitimacy, after which the Organization was expected to take a back seat and merely observe the acts that were being committed, in its name, as though the matter no longer concerned it.

Kuwait's resumption of its former status as a sovereign Member State of the United Nations cannot be achieved by destroying Iraq, which is also a Member State of this Organization, or by breaking its sovereign will and imposing hegemony on it. Our fears for Iraq and our commitment to the defence of its interests are as strong as our fears for Kuwait and our commitment to the defence of Kuwait's interests, since both are sister Arab countries with which we have links that are firmer and closer than any temporal interests. We must ask ourselves: In what situation will Iraq find itself if this war continues? In what situation will Kuwait find itself? Will this lead to the re-establishment of peace and security in the region, as indicated in Security Council resolution 678 (1990)? We have doubts in this regard. Moreover, we do not agree with the interpretation of the expression "use all necessary means", as contained in that resolution, as implying the use of force, to the exclusion of other means, on a historically unprecedented scale within 24 hours after the expiration of the deadline set by the Security Council for Iraq's withdrawal. Furthermore, the use of force, if indispensable,

does not imply that it should continue to the bitter end without pausing to give peace a chance. Should the interpretation of the expression "use all necessary means" be left to the generals in the field?

Mr. President,

Since human ingenuity has succeeded in manufacturing all these lethal weapons, should it not also be capable of finding a means, other than war, to solve a problem such as the occupation of Kuwait? If one State has used force to settle its dispute with another State, can this justify the use of the same means by a large number of States acting in association with each other? Although one State might be incapable of solving a particular problem without using force, the collective wisdom of the international community should certainly be capable of dealing with the problem in a different manner. If the time and efforts that were spent on establishing the coalition in the Gulf and on the preparations for the war had been devoted to the quest for a peaceful solution, this war would have been averted. We do not believe that a real peaceful endeavour was made in a manner commensurate with the capabilities of the principal parties to the alliance or with the seriousness of the problem. Moreover, when the problem became a matter of daily concern to the Security Council, the latter merely adopted one resolution after another, leaving States to embark on their own individual peaceful initiatives. The Council did not even request the Secretary-General to use his good offices and make diplomatic endeavours to reach a peaceful solution to the crisis.

Mr. President,

At the present time, we feel obliged to warn, once again, of the dangers inherent in the continuation of this war, from the standpoint not only of the large numbers of human victims and the tremendous material destruction that would be caused in Iraq and Kuwait, but also of the probability of an extension of the scope of this war to include other parties in the region, or the probability of the use of non-conventional weapons, with all the devastating consequences that this would have for the future of the region as a whole, and possibly for the whole world. Has the time not come to halt this destructive war, to allow the voice of reason to prevail over the sound of bombs, and to provide scope for quiet diplomacy and constructive dialogue with a view to reaching the desired peaceful and equitable settlement?

I wish to conclude my statement by quoting a passage from the address delivered by His Majesty King Hussein on 6 February 1991, in which he said: "There are still opportunities for peace and the seizure of these opportunities would be less costly and more genuinely indicative of a commitment to values and principles than a continuation of this devastating war".

Thank you, Mr. President.

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NOTE VERBALE DATED 15 FEBRUARY 1991 FROM THE PERMANENT MISSION OF IRAQ TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Iraq to the United Nations presents its compliments to the President of the Security Council and has the honour to transmit to him herewith the text of the decision announced by the Revolution Command Council of the Republic of Iraq on 15 February 1991. The Permanent Mission would be grateful if you would have this letter and its annex distributed as a document of the Security Council.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate,

Declaration issued by the Revolution Command Council

O, glorious Iraqi people,

Noble Arabs,

Muslims, true believers in Islam,

Free and noble people of the world,

Ever since the United States, the Zionists and America's Western colonialist allies have realized that a Power was coming into being in an Arab Muslim country, Iraq, a Power capable of counterbalancing the Zionist hegemony supported by imperialism in the region, a free and noble Power, determined with sincerity and self-denial to confront the aggression and the Zionist ambitions and to reject imperialist domination of the region, the United States, the Zionists and all the colonialist forces full of hatred for the Arabs and the Muslims have begun to take measures and decisions and to launch campaigns of intrigue and incitement against Iraq in order to prevent the formation and growth of this Power, to isolate, contain and punish Iraq because it had, with faith, determination and competence, overstepped the bounds drawn for it by the United States, the Zionists and the colonialist forces of the countries of the region.

In 1988 and 1989 there were constant attacks in the press and media, and on the part of officials in the United States and other colonialist countries, paving the way for the achievement of these wicked aims.

In 1990 these attacks escalated at a feverish and accelerating pace and on an ever-widening scale. The aim was patently obvious to us and to all conscious Arabs and true Muslims, to all free and noble people who believe in freedom and justice in the world. The aim was to prepare for the destruction of this rising Power and to restore predominance in the region to the United States, Zionists and the colonial Powers, this predominance which had for decades continued to prevent the Arabs from recovering their rights and their usurped and occupied territories in Palestine, the Golan and Lebanon, just as it had prevented the Arab nation from achieving its hopes of advancement, progress and justice in order that it might occupy the natural position it deserves in the world by reason of its glorious history and great contribution to human civilization.

During the first months of 1990 these attacks intensified and broadened and acquired a hysterical character. They began to urge daily that Iraq should be attacked and its leadership liquidated, and that it should be deprived of the means of advancement and progress. The United States, together with other colonialist countries, adopted a series of unfair decisions and measures prohibiting the export of everything which might contribute to the development of Iraq, and to its scientific and industrial advancement. These decisions comprised an effective economic boycott, one of the effects of which was the cancellation of foodstuff

contracts in March 1990. It was also clear that the United States was making preparations, in coordination with the Zionist entity, to strike at scientific and industrial facilities and sites and to liquidate the faithful national leadership of Iraq. When the United States discovered that this scheme, which depended to a large extent on the Zionist military capability, was insufficient to achieve its evil objectives, it recruited to the conspiracy its agents and protégés among the corrupt and imperious rulers in the region, the enemies of God.

The role of the latter was to weaken and exhaust the economy of Iraq, and bring it to the brink of economic collapse. At the same time the United States began to reinforce the network of the colonialist alliance in order to set up an American-NATO political and military coalition with the aim of attacking Iraq and gaining control of the region, since it had been afforded the opportunity to do so following the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from world affairs in order to pursue internal matters.

Iraqis,

Arabs,

Muslims,

Free and noble people of the world,

The essence and purpose of the events of 2 August 1990 were not as portrayed by American and colonialist propaganda nor as recounted by the treacherous rulers and followers of America. They constituted a patriotic, national, Islamic uprising against the conspiracy and against the imperious, an uprising against oppression and decadence, against corruption and the imperialist, Zionist and colonialist hegemony over the region, against the imperious rulers, whose role had been revealed in the American Zionist conspiracy. This is why the imperialist Zionist NATO alliance revealed its true aims and intentions from the very first hours of those events. It massed its armies and forces and organized the most evil campaign of delusion, lying and deception the world has witnessed in recent times. This evil, tyrannical imperialist, Zionist, NATO alliance coerced the United Nations into issuing against Iraq, with unparalleled rapidity, a series of iniquitous and unprecedented resolutions. At the same time, this Organization has for decades been incapable of satisfying the simplest claims of the Arab nation and of preserving the simplest rights of the Arabs in Palestine, despite the clarity of the Arab right and the violence of the tragedy endured by the heroic people of Palestine and from which other Arabs suffer, including the oppressed people of Lebanon.

This iniquitous alliance imposed its will on the world, pursued methods of intimidation, blackmail and bribery and employed all the means of viciousness, falsehood and deception in the arsenal of the imperialists, Zionists and forces of colonialism in order to prepare the way for aggression against Iraq.

O glorious Iraqis,

O noble Arabs,

O believing Muslims,

O those in the world who are noble and honourable,

The aggression that has befallen the courageous, proud, combatant, believing and steadfast country of Iraq, has no counterpart in history. In the entire history of mankind, there is no record of the likes of such a coalition, in which there participated the United States, two major Powers and many other States, some 30 in number, against combatant, courageous, steadfast Iraq, whose population does not exceed 18 million. It is indeed an evil, iniquitous, malicious and disbelieving alliance against the stronghold of faith and principle, an alliance against the seat of freedom and the call for justice and fairness. For an entire month, the United States and its allies together with the Zionist entity, which has participated in the aggression from the outset, have been launching savage and devastating attacks against the people of Iraq, against its economic, scientific, cultural and services-related assets and its religious centres and against the country's sites of ancient civilization. History has not seen its like for intensity of fire nor means of slaughter and destruction, launched in the name of the United Nations, a fallacious international legitimacy and the new world order that they intend will be one of United States and NATO hegemony over the world.

The United States and the parties to the evil coalition have delivered, with aircraft that fire their missiles from afar and with long-range missiles, enormous quantities of bombs and explosives against women, children and elderly persons in all the towns and villages of Iraq and even the nomadic Bedouin of the desert. They have struck, in a premeditated manner, mosques, churches, schools, hospitals, civilian factories, bridges and major highways, telephone exchanges, electricity and water installations, irrigation dams, cultural centres and archaeological landmarks in the country. They have struck targets that have no connection of any kind whatever with the military effort or with the arena of the military clash of which they have spoken. The most recent such crime was that vile and heinous crime committed in the deliberate bombing of a civilian shelter, which killed and incinerated hundreds of women, children and elderly persons. The objective of this brutal act of aggression was abundantly clear, and it was to advance the process of destruction that was their intention, and to punish the proud, noble and combatant people of Iraq because it had chosen the way of freedom, independence and honour and rejected humiliation, degradation and subjection to the will of colonialism and zionism.

The United States and its allies have launched a vile and cowardly war against a courageous and believing people. The history and destiny of peoples and nations are not determined by the material possessions of States and ruling regimes. Throughout history, many a strong and wealthy empire has fallen because it adopted the way of shame, cowardice, oppression and dissoluteness. This is the destiny of iniquitous America and its vile regimes, and it is the destiny of zionism and all the forces of colonialism, God willing. Iraq has triumphed in this confrontation. It has triumphed because it has remained steadfast, courageous, believing, noble,

and strong-willed. It has triumphed because it has maintained principles and spiritual values derived from its true religion and its centuries-old heritage. Its losses in terms of material assets in this battle, despite their enormity, are of slight importance when set against its preservation of its resolute spirit, its faith deeply rooted in principle and its strong determination to pursue the road of resurgence and progress.

O noble Iraqis,

O honourable Arabs,

O Muslims ... who truly believe in Islam,

O those in the world who are noble and perceptive,

On the basis of this strongly entrenched feeling and of this assessment of the character of the conflict, in order to deprive the vicious United States, Zionist and NATO alliance of the opportunity to achieve its planned destructive goals, in appreciation of the initiative of the Soviet Union conveyed by the envoy of the Soviet leadership, and in keeping with the principles set forth in the initiative of President Saddam Hussein, announced on 12 August 1990, the Revolution Command Council has decided to announce the following:

I. Iraq's readiness to deal on the basis of Security Council resolution 660 (1990) with a view to reaching an honourable and acceptable political solution, including withdrawal. The first step that must be taken, as an undertaking on Iraq's part with regard to the matter of withdrawal, is linked with the following:

(a) A complete and comprehensive cease-fire on land, at sea and in the air;

(b) That the Security Council should, from the outset, decide to annul its resolutions 661, 662, 664, 665, 666, 667, 669, 670, 674, 677 and 678 and all the consequences to which they give rise. Similarly, the annulment of all decisions and measures of boycott and embargo and the other adverse decisions and measures adopted by certain States against Iraq, jointly and severally, prior to 2 August 1990, and which were the true cause of the Gulf crisis, so that matters may be restored to their normal status as if nothing had happened and without any adverse consequences for Iraq for any reason whatever;

(c) The United States, the other States participating in the aggression and all States that have dispatched forces to the region shall withdraw from the Middle East region and the Arabian Gulf region all the forces, armaments and matériel that they introduced before and after 2 August 1990, whether they are on land, at sea, in the oceans or in the gulfs, including the weapons and matériel provided by certain States to Israel on the pretext of the crisis in the Gulf, it being understood that the withdrawal of such forces, armaments and matériel shall take place within a period not to exceed one month from the date of the cease-fire;

(d) That Israel should withdraw from Palestine and from the Arab territories it is occupying in the Golan and in Lebanon, in implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations. In the

event that it should refuse to do so, the Security Council shall apply against Israel the same resolutions that it adopted against Iraq;

(e) The guarantee of Iraq's full and undiminished historical rights on land and at sea in any political solution;

(f) The political arrangement to be agreed upon shall be based on the will of the people in accordance with genuine democratic practice and not on the acquired privileges of the House of Al Sabah. On this basis, national and Islamic forces must participate in a fundamental manner in the political arrangement to be agreed upon.

II. Those States that have participated in the aggression and in financing it shall undertake to rebuild that which the aggression has destroyed in Iraq, in accordance with the highest specifications for each of the activities, projects and installations targeted by the aggression, at their own expense and without Iraq's incurring any financial outlays.

III. Cancellation of all the debts incurred by Iraq, as well as by the States of the region damaged by the aggression which have not participated in it either directly or indirectly, to the Gulf States and those foreign States which participated in the aggression; the establishment of relations between the poor and wealthy States of the region and of the world based on justice and fairness so as to confront the wealthy countries with unequivocal obligations for the achievement of development in the poor countries and for the elimination of their economic sufferings, on the basis of the principle that the poor have a right to the resources of the wealthy; and a halt to the use of double standards in dealing with issues affecting peoples and nations, whether on the part of the Security Council or on the part of one State or another.

IV. To the States of the Gulf, including Iran, shall be left the freedom and the duty to establish security arrangements in the region and to organize relations among themselves without any external interference.

V. The declaration of the Arabian Gulf region as a zone free of foreign military bases and of any form of foreign military presence; and universal commitment to that effect. This is our case, and we have announced it to the world. We have set it forth clearly and plainly to the treacherous and perfidious and their imperialist masters. Our fundamental assurance, having placed our trust in the One and Only God, is in our mighty Iraqi people, in its combatant and valiant armed forces, and in those who have believed in the road that we are taking in resisting oppression and the oppressors. In the coming days, victory over the oppressors shall be assured, just as it was assured in former days. God is most great. May the infamous be driven out.

Revolution Command Council

29 Rajab A.H. 1411
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* Reissued for technical reasons.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate,

Declaration issued by the Revolution Command Council

O, glorious Iraqi people,

Noble Arabs,

Muslims, true believers in Islam,

Free and noble people of the world,

Ever since the United States, the Zionists and America's Western colonialist allies have realized that a Power was coming into being in an Arab Muslim country, Iraq, a Power capable of counterbalancing the Zionist hegemony supported by imperialism in the region, a free and noble Power, determined with sincerity and self-denial to confront the aggression and the Zionist ambitions and to reject imperialist domination of the region, the United States, the Zionists and all the colonialist forces full of hatred for the Arabs and the Muslims have begun to take measures and decisions and to launch campaigns of intrigue and incitement against Iraq in order to prevent the formation and growth of this Power, to isolate, contain and punish Iraq because it had, with faith, determination and competence, overstepped the bounds drawn by the United States, the Zionists and the colonialist forces for the countries of the region.

In 1988 and 1989 there were constant campaigns in the press and media, and on the part of officials in the United States and other colonialist countries, paving the way for the achievement of these wicked aims.

In 1990 these campaigns escalated at a feverish and accelerating pace and on an ever-widening scale. The aim was patently obvious to us and to all conscious Arabs and true Muslims, to all free and noble people who believe in freedom and justice in the world. The aim was to prepare for the destruction of this rising Power and to restore predominance in the region in favour of the United States, Zionists and the colonial Powers, this predominance which had for decades continued to prevent the Arabs from recovering their rights and their usurped and occupied territories in Palestine, the Golan and Lebanon, just as it had prevented the Arab nation from achieving its hopes of advancement, progress and justice in order that it might occupy the natural position it deserves in the world by reason of its glorious history and great contribution to human civilization.

During the first months of 1990 these campaigns intensified and broadened and acquired a hysterical character. They began to urge daily that Iraq should be attacked and its leadership liquidated, and that it should be deprived of the means of advancement and progress. The United States, together with other colonialist countries, adopted a series of unfair decisions and measures prohibiting the export of everything which might contribute to the development of Iraq, and to its scientific and industrial advancement. These decisions comprised an effective economic boycott, one of the effects of which was the cancellation of foodstuff contracts in March 1990. It was also clear that the United States was making preparations, in coordination with the Zionist entity, to strike at scientific and

industrial facilities and sites and to liquidate the faithful national leadership of Iraq. When the United States discovered that this scheme, which depended to a large extent on the Zionist military capability, was insufficient to achieve its evil objectives, it recruited to the conspiracy its agents and protégés among the corrupt and imperious rulers in the region, the enemies of God.

The role of the latter was to weaken and exhaust the economy of Iraq, and bring it to the brink of economic collapse. At the same time the United States began to reinforce the network of the colonialist alliance in order to set up an American-NATO political and military coalition with the aim of attacking Iraq and gaining control of the region, since it had been afforded the opportunity to do so following the imbalance resulting from the preoccupation of the Soviet Union with its internal affairs.

Iraqis,

Arabs,

Muslims,

Free and noble people of the world,

The essence and purpose of the events of 2 August 1990 were not as portrayed by American and colonialist propaganda nor as recounted by the treacherous rulers and followers of America. They constituted a patriotic, national, Islamic uprising against the conspiracy and against the imperious, an uprising against oppression and decadence, against corruption and the imperialist, Zionist and colonialist hegemony over the region, against the imperious rulers, whose role had been revealed in the American Zionist conspiracy. This is why the imperialist Zionist NATO alliance revealed its true aims and intentions from the very first hours of those events. It massed its armies and forces and organized the most evil campaign of delusion, lying and deception the world has witnessed in recent times. This evil, tyrannical imperialist, Zionist, NATO alliance coerced the United Nations into issuing against Iraq, with unparalleled rapidity, a series of iniquitous and unprecedented resolutions. At the same time, this Organization has for decades been incapable of satisfying the simplest claims of the Arab nation and of preserving the simplest rights of the Arabs in Palestine, despite the clarity of the Arab right and the violence of the tragedy endured by the heroic people of Palestine and from which other Arabs suffer, including the oppressed people of Lebanon.

This iniquitous alliance imposed its will on the world, pursued methods of intimidation, blackmail and bribery and employed all the means of viciousness, falsehood and deception in the arsenal of the imperialists, Zionists and forces of colonialism in order to prepare the way for aggression against Iraq.

O glorious Iraqis,

O noble Arabs,

O believing Muslims,

O those in the world who are noble and honourable,

The aggression that has befallen the courageous, proud, combatant, believing and steadfast country of Iraq, has no counterpart in history. In the entire history of mankind, there is no record of the likes of such a coalition, in which there participated the United States, two major Powers and many other States, some 30 in number, against combatant, courageous, steadfast Iraq, whose population does not exceed 18 million. It is indeed an evil, iniquitous, malicious and disbelieving alliance against the stronghold of faith and principle, an alliance against the seat of freedom and the call for justice and fairness. For an entire month, the United States and its allies together with the Zionist entity, which has participated in the aggression from the outset, have been launching savage and devastating attacks against the people of Iraq, against its economic, scientific, cultural and services-related assets and its religious centres and against the country's sites of ancient civilization. History has not seen its like for intensity of fire nor means of slaughter and destruction, launched in the name of the United Nations, a fallacious international legitimacy and the new world order that they intend will be one of United States and NATO hegemony over the world.

The United States and the parties to the evil coalition have delivered, with aircraft that fire their missiles from afar and with long-range missiles, enormous quantities of bombs and explosives against women, children and elderly persons in all the towns and villages of Iraq and even the nomadic Bedouin of the desert. They have struck, in a premeditated manner, mosques, churches, schools, hospitals, civilian factories, bridges and major highways, telephone exchanges, electricity and water installations, irrigation dams, cultural centres and archaeological landmarks in the country. They have struck targets that have no connection of any kind whatever with the military effort or with the arena of the military clash of which they have spoken. The most recent such crime was that vile and heinous crime committed in the deliberate bombing of a civilian shelter, which killed and incinerated hundreds of women, children and elderly persons. The objective of this brutal act of aggression was abundantly clear, and it was to advance the process of destruction that was their intention, and to punish the proud, noble and combatant people of Iraq because it had chosen the way of freedom, independence and honour and rejected humiliation, degradation and subjection to the will of colonialism and zionism.

The United States and its allies have launched a vile and cowardly war against a courageous and believing people. The history and destiny of peoples and nations are not determined by the material possessions of States and ruling regimes. Throughout history, many a strong and wealthy empire has fallen because it adopted the way of shame, cowardice, oppression and dissoluteness. This is the destiny of iniquitous America and its decadent systems, and it is the destiny of zionism and all the forces of colonialism, God willing. Iraq has triumphed in this confrontation. It has triumphed because it has remained steadfast, courageous, believing, noble, and strong-willed. It has triumphed because it has maintained principles and spiritual values derived from its true religion and its centuries-old heritage. Its losses in terms of material assets in this battle,

despite their enormity, are of slight importance when set against its preservation of its resolute spirit, its faith deeply rooted in principle and its strong determination to pursue the road of resurgence and progress.

O noble Iraqis,

O honourable Arabs,

O Muslims ... who truly believe in Islam,

O those in the world who are noble and perceptive,

On the basis of this strongly entrenched feeling and of this assessment of the character of the conflict, in order to deprive the vicious United States, Zionist and NATO alliance of the opportunity to achieve its planned destructive goals, in appreciation of the initiative of the Soviet Union conveyed by the envoy of the Soviet leadership, and in keeping with the principles set forth in the initiative of President Saddam Hussein, announced on 12 August 1990, the Revolution Command Council has decided to announce the following:

I. Iraq's readiness to deal on the basis of Security Council resolution 660 (1990) with a view to reaching an honourable and acceptable political solution, including withdrawal. The first step that must be taken, as a commitment on Iraq's part with regard to the matter of withdrawal, is linked with the following:

(a) A complete and comprehensive cease-fire on land, at sea and in the air;

(b) That the Security Council should decide to annul, with full retroactive effect, its resolutions 661, 662, 664, 665, 666, 667, 669, 670, 674, 677 and 678 and all the consequences to which they have given rise. Similarly, the annulment of all decisions and measures of boycott and embargo and the other detrimental decisions and measures adopted by certain States against Iraq, jointly and severally, prior to 2 August 1990, and which were the true cause of the Gulf crisis, so that the situation may be restored to normal, as if nothing had happened, and without any detrimental consequences for Iraq for any reason whatever;

(c) The United States, the other States participating in the aggression and all States that have dispatched forces to the region shall withdraw from the Middle East region and the Arabian Gulf region all the forces, armaments and matériel that they introduced before and after 2 August 1990, whether they are on land, at sea, in the oceans or in the gulfs, including the weapons and matériel provided by certain States to Israel on the pretext of the crisis in the Gulf, it being understood that the withdrawal of such forces, armaments and matériel shall take place within a period not to exceed one month from the date of the cease-fire;

(d) That Israel should withdraw from Palestine and from the Arab territories it is occupying in the Golan and in Lebanon, in implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations. In the event that it should refuse to do so, the Security Council shall apply against Israel the same resolutions that it adopted against Iraq;

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LETTER DATED 15 FEBRUARY 1991 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF TUNISIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the attached statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Tunisia concerning today's announcement by Iraq that it intends to comply with Security Council resolution 660 (1990).

I should be grateful if you would have this statement distributed as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ahmed GHEZAL
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

[Original: Arabic]

Statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
on 15 February 1991

The Tunisian Government has learned with satisfaction that Iraq announced today that it was prepared to cooperate with a view to the implementation of Security Council resolution 660 (1990).

The Tunisian Government, which has worked ceaselessly for the application of international law and the peaceful settlement of the Gulf crisis, and which has called for Iraq's withdrawal and the preservation of the potential and achievements of the Iraqi people which are in danger of destruction and devastation, hopes that this positive initiative by Iraq will prompt a reaction which, by means of a halt to the fighting and a cessation of the conflict, will be able to put an end to this terrible tragedy and to arrive at a just and lasting settlement of all the region's problems, without which, it believes, the security and stability of the region cannot be assured.

The Tunisian Government strongly favours dialogue and peace and hopes sincerely that all the parties to the conflict will seize this opportunity to respond to the whole world's desire for security, stability and peace.